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DRAFTED BY: AF/C:KAISTON:KCA  
APPROVED BY: DEPUTY SECRETARY

G:TWIRTH AF:PBUSHNELL  
D:JWITHERS S/S:DEGRAZE  
S/S-O:RSROBINSON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY KIGALI IMMEDIATE  
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 278118

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR  
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, PHUM, OVIP, RW, US  
SUBJECT: PRESIDENT BIZIMUNGU AND DEPUTY SECRETARY TALBOTT  
DISCUSS ASSISTANCE AND BENCHMARKS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. SUMMARY. IN AN OCTOBER 5 MEETING WITH THE DEPUTY  
SECRETARY IN WASHINGTON, RWANDAN PRESIDENT PASTEUR  
BIZIMUNGU NOTED THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF RWANDA (GOR) LACKS  
BASIC RESOURCES BUT HAS THE NECESSARY GOOD WILL TO UPHOLD  
ITS COMMITMENTS ON NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND  
REPATRIATION OF RWANDAN REFUGEES. HE AGREED IN PRINCIPLE  
TO USG BENCHMARKS, INCLUDING BROADENING OF THE NEW  
GOVERNMENT'S BASE, RESPONDING CONSTRUCTIVELY TO REPORTS OF  
REPRISALS BY RPF FORCES (THE RPA), NAMING OF A POINT  
PERSON ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND PURSUING INTEGRATION OF THE  
FORMER RWANDAN ARMY (EX-FAR). HE COMPLAINED, HOWEVER,  
THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SEEMS AT TIMES TO WANT  
THE GOVERNMENT TO "ACCOMMODATE KILLERS." THE DEPUTY  
SECRETARY STRESSED THE NEED TO TRANSLATE THE GOR'S  
AGREEMENT "IN PRINCIPLE" INTO CONCRETE ACTION. HE ADDED

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THAT THE U.S. WANTED TO SEE THE GOR INITIATE MEANINGFUL  
CONTACTS WITH HUTUS OUTSIDE RWANDA AND THAT THE GOR MUST

FOCUS AS MUCH ON RECONCILIATION AS ON REPATRIATION. UNDER  
SECRETARY WIRTH COMMENDED THE GOR'S PROACTIVE RESPONSE TO  
THE UNHCR'S REPORTS OF REPRISALS, AND AF DAS BUSHNELL  
STRESSED THE NEED FOR THE GOR TO SAY THE RIGHT THINGS AND  
SHOW COURAGE AND TOLERANCE. END SUMMARY

3. BIZIMUNGU WAS ACCOMPANIED BY FOREIGN MINISTER  
NDAGIJIMANA, JUSTICE MINISTER NKUBITO, THE PRESIDENT'S  
DIRECTOR OF CABINET EMMANUEL GASANA, AND PRESIDENTIAL  
ADVISOR CHARLES MURIGANDE. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY WAS  
JOINED BY UNDER SECRETARY WIRTH AND AF DAS BUSHNELL.  
SPECIAL ASSISTANT JOHN WITHERS AND RWANDA DESKOFF KEVIN  
AISTON ALSO ATTENDED. (SEPTELS WILL FOLLOW ON BIZIMUNGU'S  
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OTHER WASHINGTON MEETINGS.)

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BIZIMUNGU AGREES IN PRINCIPLE TO U.S. BENCHMARKS  
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4. BIZIMUNGU NOTED THAT IN HIS MEETING WITH NATIONAL  
SECURITY ADVISOR LAKE, THE GOR WAS OFFERED ASSISTANCE WITH  
WORLD BANK ARREARS IF THE GOVERNMENT SATISFIED CERTAIN  
"CONDITIONS", INCLUDING BROADENING ITS BASE, RESPONDING TO  
THE UNHCR'S ALLEGATIONS OF RPA REPRISALS, NAMING A POINT  
PERSON ON HUMAN RIGHTS, AND PURSUING INTEGRATION OF EX-FAR  
ELEMENTS INTO THE RPA. HE SAID HIS GOVERNMENT AGREED "IN  
PRINCIPLE" TO THESE POINTS AND DECLARED THAT THE RWANDAN  
GOVERNMENT HAD MET THE "CONDITIONS." IT HAS ACCOMMODATED  
ALL PARTIES EXCEPT THE MRND (HABYARIMANA'S PARTY), WHICH,  
ACCORDING TO BIZIMUNGU, HAD ORGANIZED THE GENOCIDE. THE  
GOR WAS ATTEMPTING TO BRING IN INDIVIDUAL MRND MEMBERS NOT  
ASSOCIATED WITH THE MASSACRES. HE ADDED THAT THE GOR IS  
COMMITTED TO INTEGRATING ELEMENTS OF THE EX-FAR INTO THE  
NEW RWANDAN ARMY; HOWEVER, THE EX-FAR SOLDIERS HAVE NOT  
BEEN WILLING TO ACCEPT THE GOR'S OFFER. AS FOR OUR  
SUGGESTION OF NAMING A POINT PERSON ON HUMAN RIGHTS,  
BIZIMUNGU SAID THE GOR WAS PREPARED TO ESTABLISH A HUMAN  
RIGHTS COMMISSION BUT HAS BEEN UNABLE TO PUT THE  
COMMISSION IN PLACE DUE TO LACK OF RESOURCES. FINALLY,  
BIZIMUNGU NOTED THAT THE GOR, WORKING WITH UNAMIR, HAD  
QUICKLY ESTABLISHED A COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE UNHCR  
REPORTS OR RPA REPRISALS. HE SAID THE INVESTIGATION  
INDICATED THAT THE ALLEGATIONS WERE UNFOUNDED.

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5. SUMMING UP, BIZIMUNGU SAID RWANDA NEEDS FINANCIAL AID TO UPHOLD THE COMMITMENTS THAT THE U.S. AND OTHERS WERE PRESSING. RATHER THAN HOLDING OFF ON AID BECAUSE OF THESE CONCERNS, HE BELIEVED DONORS SHOULD PROVIDE FUNDS SO THAT

THE GOR CAN MEET ITS COMMITMENTS. HE EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOR HAS THE NECESSARY GOOD WILL AND THAT, RATHER THAN PUTTING THE GOR UNDER CLOSE OBSERVATION, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD RECOGNIZE THIS AND HELP RWANDA ADDRESS THESE PROBLEMS.

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DEPUTY SECRETARY CALLS FOR CONCRETE ACTIONS  
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6. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT THE POINTS CONVEYED TO THE GOR WERE NOT "CONDITIONS"; RATHER, THEY WERE "BENCHMARKS", I.E., CONCRETE STEPS THAT WILL HELP CONVINCE THE GOR'S OWN PEOPLE THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S VERY IMPORTANT AND REASSURING WORDS WILL BE TRANSLATED INTO DEEDS. HE ADDED THAT AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE WAS NOT SUFFICIENT; WE NEEDED TO WORK TOGETHER TO SEE THAT THESE COMMITMENTS WERE UPHELD IN PRACTICE.

7. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY FURTHER NOTED THAT, IN REVIEWING THE U.S. BENCHMARKS, BIZIMUNGU FAILED TO MENTION OUR REQUEST THAT THE GOVERNMENT INITIATE MEANINGFUL CONTACTS WITH HUTU LEADERS OUTSIDE RWANDA. HE POINTED OUT THAT REPATRIATION IS ONLY ONE-HALF OF THE EQUATION AND THAT RECONCILIATION MUST ALSO BE ACHIEVED. THE UNHCR REPORTS OF RPA REPRISALS CONCERNED US NOT ONLY FOR THE SIMPLE

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REASON THAT ALL KILLING IS UNACCEPTABLE, BUT ALSO BECAUSE IT RAISES QUESTIONS WHETHER A POLICY OF RECONCILIATION IS BEING PURSUED. HE ADDED THAT IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO PUT AN END TO SUCH REPORTS; FIRST AND FOREMOST, ANY ACTIVITIES THAT GAVE RISE TO THE REPORTS MUST BE STOPPED.

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U/S WIRTH COMMENDS RESPONSE TO UNHCR REPORTS, OUTLINES  
USG PRIORITIES; DAS BUSHNELL STRESSES POWER OF WORDS  
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8. UNDER SECRETARY WIRTH COMMENDED THE GOR FOR THE WAY IT HAD ADDRESSED THE UNHCR REPORTS OF REPRISALS, AND HE WELCOMED THE RECENT STATEMENTS MADE BY VICE PRESIDENT KAGAME CONDEMNING ACTS OF REVENGE. THE UNDER SECRETARY OUTLINED USG PRIORITIES IN RWANDA, INCLUDING IMPROVING BORDER SECURITY, PURSUING INVESTIGATIONS AND PROSECUTIONS FOR THE ATROCITIES, EXPEDITING DEPLOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORS, AND ASSISTING IN RESOLVING DIFFICULT PROPERTY RIGHTS ISSUES. HE THEN ASKED ABOUT THE WHEREABOUTS OF THE EX-FAR. BIZIMUNGU SAID THEY CONTINUE TO HEAR REPORTS OF AN IMPENDING ATTACK AND THAT THE THREAT OF SUCH AN ATTACK

HAS BEEN USED TO DETER REFUGEES FROM REPATRIATING. THE PRESIDENT SAID THE GOR HAD BEEN TOLD THE EX-FAR HAD SHIFTED FROM GOMA TO BUKAVU.

9. DAS BUSHNELL EXPLAINED THAT OUR STRATEGY IS TO HELP RWANDA ACHIEVE PEACE. THIS WILL TAKE TREMENDOUS EFFORT, COURAGE, AND TOLERANCE. WE ARE WILLING TO ASSIST, BUT THE GOR NEEDS TO DO EVERYTHING IT CAN TO SEE THAT REAL PEACE

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IS ACHIEVED. DAS BUSHNELL RECOGNIZED THAT THE GOR MAY LACK RESOURCES, BUT IT HAS CONTROL OVER ITS WORDS, WHICH CAN BE EXTREMELY POWERFUL. THEY CAN BE USED TO KILL, BUT THEY CAN ALSO BE USED TO DRAW PEOPLE BACK AND BRING PEOPLE TOGETHER. THE GOR NEEDS TO USE ITS WORDS TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION, AND MUST FOLLOW-UP THOSE WORDS WITH ACTIONS.

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BIZIMUNGU'S TEMPERATURE RISES  
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10. AS THE DISCUSSION WORE ON, BIZIMUNGU SEEMED TO GROW IMPATIENT. ABANDONING HIS PRESIDENTIAL DEMEANOR, HE BECAME VISIBLY AGITATED AND LAUNCHED INTO A DIATRIBE OVER INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE LAST MARCH TO GRANT A SEAT IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO THE HARDLINE CDR PARTY (FYI: UNDER THE ARUSHA ACCORD, THE CDR AND OTHER MINOR PARTIES WERE ASSIGNED ONE SEAT EACH IN THE SEVENTY MEMBER MULTIPARTY PARLIAMENT). BIZIMUNGU SAID THE RPF HAD STRONGLY RESISTED THIS PRESSURE BECAUSE THEY BELIEVED THE CDR WAS DETERMINED TO ELIMINATE ALL TUTSIS. THE SUBSEQUENT GENOCIDAL MASSACRES PROVED THE RPF HAD BEEN RIGHT.

11. BIZIMUNGU COMPLAINED THAT THE SAME "MISCONCEPTIONS"

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ARE DRIVING THE PRESSURE ON THE GOR TO "ACCOMMODATE THE MRND." HE SAID THAT WHILE HIS U.S. INTERLOCUTORS MAY BE CALLING FOR WAR CRIMES TRIALS, UNIDENTIFIED "OTHERS" ARE ASKING THE GOR TO ACCOMMODATE THE KILLERS. IN STARK CONTRAST TO HIS EARLIER STATEMENTS ABOUT REACHING OUT TO MODERATE MRND MEMBERS, BIZIMUNGU SAID FLATLY: "WHO ARE CONFIDENTIAL

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THE INNOCENT MRND MEMBERS WHO ARE WILLING TO COME BACK TO KIGALI? I DON'T KNOW ANY." HE ADDED THAT HE FEARED THAT THE UNHCR'S REPORTS OF RPA REPRISALS ARE INTENDED TO EQUATE THE RPF'S ACTIONS WITH THOSE OF THE GENOCIDAL KILLERS.

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KILLERS TO BE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE, NOT "ACCOMMODATED"  
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12. THE DEPUTY SECRETARY REPLIED THAT WE ARE URGING THE GOR TO ADOPT A POLICY OF RECONCILIATION; WE ARE NOT/NOT ASKING THE GOR TO ACCOMMODATE THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GENOCIDE. ON THE CONTRARY, WE ARE COMMITTED TO SEE THAT THOSE INDIVIDUALS ARE BROUGHT TO JUSTICE, BUT WE ARE ALSO URGING THE GOR NOT TO CONDEMN WHOLE GROUPS BASED ON THE ACTS OF INDIVIDUALS. DAS BUSHNELL ADDED THAT NO COUNTRY IS WORKING HARDER THAN THE U.S. ON THE EFFORT TO ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL. IN CLOSING THE MEETING, THE DEPUTY SECRETARY ASSURED BIZIMUNGU THAT OUR COMMITMENT TO HELP RWANDA REACH .LASTING PEACE IS UNCONDITIONAL; WE ARE OFFERING THE GOR OUR ADVICE TO HELP ASSURE THAT THE GOR ACHIEVES ITS OWN GOAL OF BEING A RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, IN THE FACE OF TRULY DAUNTING ODDS.

23. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED.

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